

## Yamadaya Daisuke's 1837 Nose Movement\*

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An Osaka herbalist named Yamadaya Daisuke bid farewell to his wife and children in the summer of 1837 and set forth from the city to journey north to his home village of Yamada in Nose (能勢) county. Before leaving, he invited two friends, Imai Fujikura and Satō Shirōemon, to accompany him. The three men spent a few days in Yamada and then left the village to instigate a march to Kyoto that involved over a thousand peasants from thirty-three villages and culminated in a bloody standoff between the three ringleaders and government forces.

The movement's parameters appeared to conform to the conventions of nineteenth century protest—the men wrote a formal appeal and distributed it as a circular called a *kaijō*, hoisted banners, and carried the usual peasant tools and crude weapons as they left Yamada. Upon closer investigation, however, it becomes apparent that the similarities with previous episodes of protest were superficial. The appeal, while designed to resemble earlier legal petitions and manifestos, represented a hodgepodge of late Tokugawa Confucian thought designed to appeal to a wide base of peasants. The slogans on the banners, phrases intended to stir up peasant emotions by suggesting that Daisuke was part of a greater group of late Tokugawa firebrands, had little to do with the actual events of the movement. Even the weapons, which were commonly carried in peasant movements more as a symbolic gesture than for practice, were eventually used for murder and destruction.

Despite the size of the area affected, the number of people involved, and its eclectic nature, the incident has garnered little attention in Japanese and English language scholarship for two primary reasons. First, the movement was one of many that transpired during the Tenpō famine (1833-1839), and it was largely overshadowed by Ōshio Heihachirō's earlier 1837 riot that destroyed nearly one-fifth of Osaka's wards. Second, the nature of the movement defies efforts to group it with other Tokugawa protests. In a year when two samurai agitators attempted to justify their actions using Wang Yangming Neo-Confucianism (Ōshio's riot in the first month) or *kokugaku* nativism (Ikuta Yorozu's attack on a Kashiwazaki guard post in the third month), Daisuke and his companions subscribed to no particular school of thought nor did they leave behind any manifesto or paper trail prior to the march. At the same time, the men devoted time and resources to organizing the movement and, at least in its first day, amassed support through licit channels, thus defying categorization of the episode within a rash of late Tokugawa violent outbursts.

The Nose movement merits recognition precisely because it differs so starkly from other, better-known episodes of Tokugawa dissent. The movement's abrupt transformation into a violent protest, the eclectic thought incorporated into its call to action, and Daisuke's manipulation of mass protest norms all make it difficult to view Daisuke as either a principled intellectual like Ōshio and Ikuta or as a leader of a destructive outburst like an

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*uchikowashi*. That neither he nor his two companions ever achieved any fame in Osaka adds to the movement's intrigue. With no cachet to his name outside of his home village, Daisuke molded himself into a champion for the county's peasants and mobilized them with a series of attractive promises in a time of widespread famine.

### Setting the Scene: Settsu Province and Nose County

It is no coincidence that Daisuke's movement emerged in Nose. Poor economic conditions in the county and other parts of northern Settsu provided peasants with ample grounds for discontent, and the geographic concentration of villages in the county coupled with local traditions of collective protest facilitated Daisuke's efforts at organization. Settsu was one of sixty-eight provinces that formed Tokugawa Japan (Figure 1), encompassing what today is the northern part of Osaka and the eastern part of Hyogo prefectures. The province (Figure 2) was further subdivided into twelve counties or *kōri*, with Nose (A) nestled in Settsu's northeast corner. To Nose's west was Kawabe (B) where the movement reached its violent conclusion, while to Nose's south were Teshima (C) and Shimashimo (D) counties, which Daisuke and his companions traversed when they left Osaka (e).



Figure 1: Settsu in Early Modern Japan<sup>1</sup>

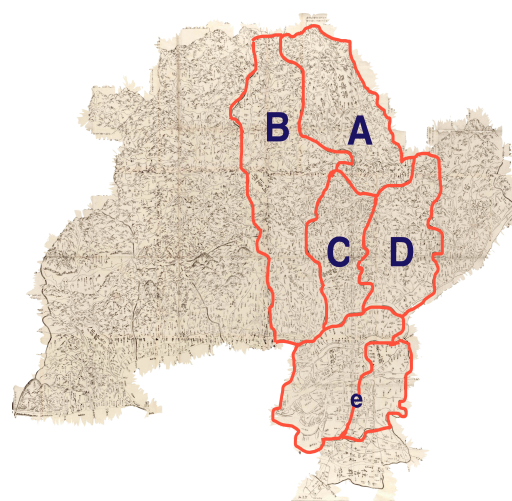


Figure 2: Counties Involved in the Movement<sup>2</sup>

Nose's distance from Osaka permitted Daisuke to initiate his movement away from the gaze of officials who were dealing with the aftermath of the Osaka riot and on the lookout for signs of further trouble. The same geographical separation, however, did not stop the

<sup>1</sup> Map adapted from William E. Deal, *Handbook to Life in Medieval and Early Modern Japan* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 84.

<sup>2</sup> Map adapted from Shitomi Kangyū, *Shinkaisei Settsu no kuni meisho kyūseki saiken ōezu* map. 1836. Japanese Maps of the Tokugawa Era. dm:323, UBC Library Digital Collections: <<http://digitalcollections.library.ubc.ca/cdm/singleitem/collection/tokugawa/id/323/rec/1>> (June 30, 2014).

news of and sentiment from Ōshio's riot as well as other mass movements from reaching Nose's farmers. Ever since the turn of the nineteenth century, villagers throughout the province had in fact periodically banded together to lodge inter-county protests against perceived threats to their livelihoods, so they were hardly strangers to collective action and likely would have viewed Ōshio's movement with some sympathy.<sup>3</sup>

Inter-village ties were quite strong at the county level, as the majority of farmers lived in southern Nose where arable land was concentrated at the base of the county's otherwise mountainous terrain. The density of villages in the south enabled news of Daisuke's movement to travel quickly, and the tightknit communities also facilitated the group's efforts to procure provisions and support as the number of participants rose into the hundreds. It is thus of no surprise that the vast majority of the movement took place here.

Nose's complex administrative structure presented another advantage for Daisuke in gathering support. Unlike the city of Osaka, multiple daimyo and Bakufu retainers held dominion over Nose's territory. By 1837, control over the county was shared by five domains: Takatsuki (45.9% of Nose's assessed rice yield); Okabe (11.7%); Iino (10.9%); and two *hatamoto* brothers, Nose Yorinao (31.2%) and Nose Yoshihiro (0.3%).<sup>4</sup> Only the *hatamoto* bannermen domains fell under the direct control of their leaders. As a Shogunal territory (*tenryō*), Takatsuki was overseen at the time of incident by a Kyoto magistrate named Nagai Naoteru. For the *fudai* Okabe and Iino domains, officials were stationed at regional outposts to manage the domains.<sup>5</sup> The villages outside the *hatamoto* domains—in other words, the regions where the principal daimyo was not actively engaged in local administration—had the latitude to operate with few restrictions in the nineteenth century and thus were able to provide provisions and assistance to Daisuke's crowd at their own discretion.<sup>6</sup>

Nose therefore was geographically secluded enough to give Daisuke and his companions the freedom to set their plans into motion but also integrated enough in provincial protest for villagers to be well aware of the agitation elsewhere in the region. The absence of unified, official oversight in Nose presented Daisuke with the opportunity to acquire financial support and supplies through a number of relatively autonomous villages. These features of Nose, along with Daisuke's actions in the course of the episode and the officials' reactions to it, played a key role in the movement's conception, its course of action, and its eventual, unintended destination.

<sup>3</sup> In addition to the dozens of licit and illicit protests in the 1830s, Kansai villages, sometimes numbering upwards of one thousand, united in inter-provincial protests against Osaka wholesalers. William Hauser explored this phenomenon in *Economic Institutional Change in Tokugawa Japan: Osaka and the Kinai Cotton Trade* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1974). Yabuta Yutaka more recently discussed this form of protest in his *Kokuso to hyakushō ikki no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Azekura Shobō, 1992).

<sup>4</sup> Nose-chō Shi Hensan Iinkai, ed. *Nose-chō shi*, Volume 1 (Nose-chō: Kawakitasha, 1975), 540.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 540-3.

<sup>6</sup> In the late Tokugawa period, village authorities cooperated in drafting local codes, electing their representatives, and drawing legal petitions. Aside from matters related to illicit acts, corporal punishments, and debt moratoriums, the *daikan* or *jinya* rarely intervened in village matters. Harumi Bifu, "Village Autonomy and Articulation with the State" in *Studies in the Institutional History of Early Modern Japan*, ed. John Whitney Hall and Marius Jansen (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), 302-4.

## The Disturbance

### *The Stimuli*<sup>7</sup>

The severe economic, social, and environmental problems associated with the Tenpō famine, in its fifth year by the time of the Nose incident, had not been ameliorated even though Ōshio's riot brought some attention to Settsu's hardships. Significant economic reforms would not be enacted until the 1840s, and in the summer of 1837 provincial magistrates were more concerned with arresting and trying those implicated in Ōshio's riot than with responding to calls for fiscal and social reform. In rural Settsu, including Nose, the famine continued to inflict severe hardships on the residents.

Nose's agrarians naturally faced the greatest adversity. Unlike other Settsu counties, the majority of the Nose's land was mountainous and therefore nearly impossible to cultivate. However, even amongst those communities in the flatter southern region of the county, agricultural production was relatively low, especially in the Tenpō years. During the famine, heavy rains and floods led to landslides that devastated local fields.<sup>8</sup> Subsequently, in cases like Kamisugi Village, where rice accounted for over three-quarters of farming output, nearly half of the fields were reported as inferior (*geden*) or abandoned (*kōden*).<sup>9</sup>

As a result of poor harvests, Nose villagers amassed sizeable debts to more prosperous families and businesses. Economic hardship compelled farmers to borrow silver from merchants and urban moneylenders, a state of affairs highlighted in an 1835 plea to the *daikan* submitted by Nose representatives on behalf of their struggling residents:

Our villages have fallen into debt after having taken loans from moneylenders outside of our region. This has led to severe conditions and distractions for the villagers in our territories. Now, to satisfy the demands of the local administrators, we have selected Tennō Village Headman Riyuemon, Sasao Village Headman Hanzaemon, and Kamisugi Village Elder Heizaemon as the three men to administer financial matters for our region. They conducted a thorough investigation into the villages' debts, and they then established a system for repayments. Still, even with the repayment system in place, many peasants remain in substantial debt to the daimyo, and they cannot comply with their scheduled repayments. Each silver borrower has already filed his own request through multiple appeals, and the village remains in a state of disarray. By the third month of the coming year, we ask for you to listen to and resolve our requests.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>7</sup> This section owes much to the groundbreaking work of Kawai Kenji who detailed the relationship between the harsh Tenpō climate and a cross-section of Nose villages in his study, "Tenpō/Settsu Nose undō no saikentō," *Rekishi hyōron* 7:351 (1979), 22-37.

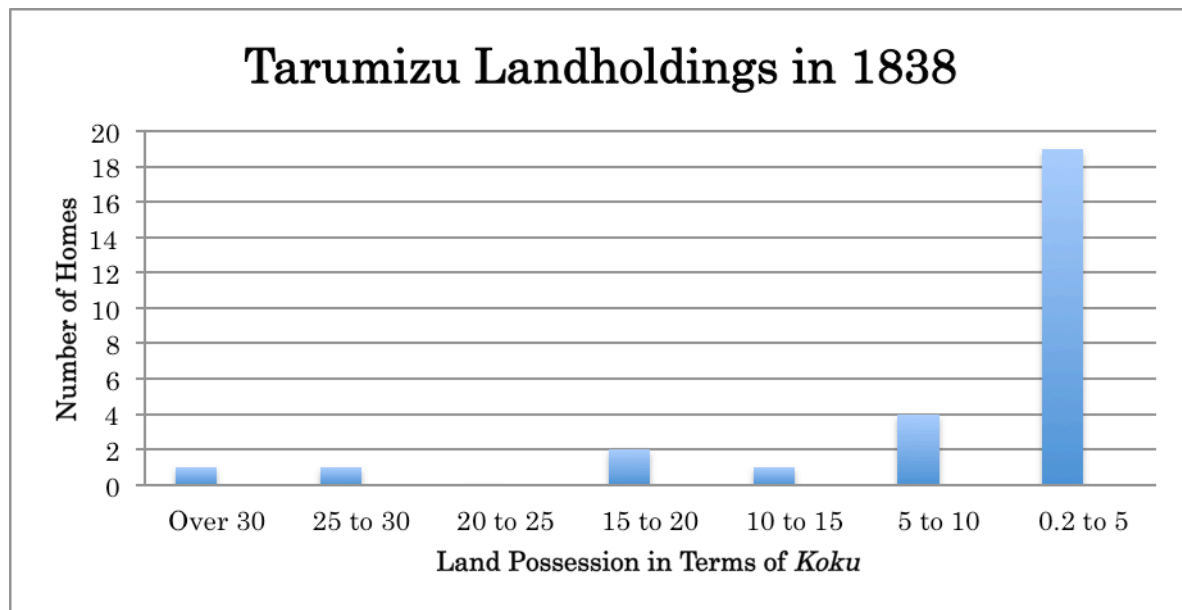
<sup>8</sup> Kawai, 24.

<sup>9</sup> Nose-chō Shi Hensan Iinkai, ed. *Nose-chō shi* Volume 3 (Nose-chō: Kawakitasha, 1975), 226-43.

<sup>10</sup> *Nose-chō shi*, Volume 1, 816.



Other villagers like those in Tarumizu turned to non-agricultural means to earn their livelihoods during the famine. Data from 1838 village ledgers indicate that the vast majority of households held land assessed at fewer than five *koku* and therefore could not rely solely on their own landholdings for their income, and either rented land or engaged in by-employments for additional revenue:



Given that the two homes possessing land in excess of 25 *koku* were wealthy saké brewers, it is likely that most Tarumizu villagers were involved in the saké trade during Tenpō years.<sup>11</sup>

Yet even the non-agricultural industries were vulnerable to the harsh effects of the famine. Brushwood trade in Kurokawa Village fell substantially in 1837, and saké trade in Ikeda Village dropped by nearly two-thirds between 1835 and 1838. Fiscal and sumptuary edicts would only exacerbate conditions at the end of the decade when, once the floods ended, villages were asked to refrain from saké. Villages like Ikeda consequently fell into further debt in part due to the edicts that restricted their saké production and therefore submitted appeals for exemption from these laws.<sup>12</sup>

In sum, conditions in Settsu's northern countryside presented a fertile breeding ground for a mass movement. Economic hardship induced by the Tenpō famine and the lack of effective measures to alleviate the problems provided the motive, local traditions of organized protest provided a basis for action, and existing village networks combined with a scattered official presence in the region facilitated organization. All that was needed in the summer of 1837 was a catalyst in the form of a charismatic leader to convert discontent into protest.

<sup>11</sup> The chart was adapted from Tarumizu Village records collected in *Nose-chō shi*, Volume 3, 109-116, and from Kawai's breakdown the data in terms of the village's homes and residents, Kawai, 23-4.

<sup>12</sup> Kawai 24-6.

*The Ringleaders*

Little is known about the lives of the movement leaders, Yamadaya Daisuke and his two companions, Satō Shirōemon and Imai Fujikura. All biographical information for the three men comes from the Osaka magistrates' investigations into the event. Authorities in Settsu were quick to tie the leaders of illegal protests to criminal activities. In the case of Daisuke and his companions, the inspectors' accounts associated them with a range of purported crimes from minor infractions to major acts of larceny. Untangling these less than objective accounts, we can piece together the following basic biographical information from a variety of sources within *Ukiyo no arisama* (Conditions of the Floating World), a diverse collection of proto-newspaper reports and official documents concerning extraordinary affairs in Osaka and Settsu.<sup>13</sup>

Yamadaya Daisuke was born in Nose's Yamada Village at the end of the eighteenth century.<sup>14</sup> His father, Yamadaya Genroku, served in the village as a direct, though low-ranking, vassal of the Shogun. Having sustained a sizeable financial debt in his late twenties, Genroku moved his family to Osaka to find new work. After false starts, he opened an apothecary which Daisuke ultimately joined, presiding over shipments at the auxiliary branch.

Osaka authorities began investigating Genroku and Daisuke after hearing from ward residents that stolen goods were being sold through the family's stores. During the several months of inquiry the shops were closed. Daisuke underwent training in the *kenjutsu* and *jujitsu* martial arts.<sup>15</sup> The investigations uncovered no direct evidence linking black-market activity to the Yamadaya stores, and Genroku was permitted to reopen them. Daisuke meanwhile attempted to establish his own martial arts academy, but he had neither the resources nor students to do so and therefore accepted the position of apprentice instructor at the dojo where he had trained.<sup>16</sup>

Magistrate records also reported that Daisuke engaged in other underhanded activities during his residence in Osaka. His neighbors alleged that he would often emerge from a local bathhouse draped in black cotton clothing typical of petty gamblers. Others indicated that they witnessed Daisuke standing on his tiptoes, "gazing with a smile here and there" at various street games. More seriously, some insinuated that Daisuke was the ringleader of a circle of thieves who robbed neighborhood storehouses, and he purportedly removed swords from guard posts and storehouses and then peddled them to merchants. He evaded

<sup>13</sup> Two points regarding the veracity of the source material: First, *Ukiyo no arisama* contains records from proto-newspapers or newssheets like *yomiuri* and *kawaraban*, that enhance factual material. Susan Burns, *Before the Nation: Kokugaku and the Imagining of Community in Early Modern Japan* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 28. Many of the work's pieces were grounded in factual events but often enhanced with fictional figures and accounts. Peter Kornicki, *The Book in Japan: A Cultural History from the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century* (Honolulu: The University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), 108. Second, the documents tend to neglect recording specific dates related to the men's lives. In the following biographical narrative I estimate ages and refer to points in time only when the accounts do.

<sup>14</sup> Daisuke's exact birth date is unknown, but most secondary sources (including Kawai's and the others introduced below) estimate it around 1790. Based on this, I place the other leaders in the 30-40 year old age range.

<sup>15</sup> Harada Tomohiko and Asakura Naohiko, eds. "Ukiyo no arisama" in *Nihon shomin seikatsu shiryō shūsei*, Volume 11 (Tokyo: San'ichi Shobō, 1971), 400.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 401.

arrest by bribing guards and employing intermediaries to transfer the stolen goods on his behalf.

Daisuke's luck in avoiding indictment ended after he moved to Osaka's Saito ward where he became acquainted with Imai Fujikura, a *rōnin* skilled in calligraphy. They met frequently and soon became as close as brothers.<sup>17</sup> In the evenings, they concocted a scheme to forge paper cash. Their plot was discovered by ward inspectors, and Daisuke was imprisoned in Sakai for nearly one hundred days. Fujikura meanwhile fled to his home in Osaka when he heard of his partner's incarceration.<sup>18</sup>

How Daisuke and Fujikura encountered the Nose incident's third core member, Satō Shirōemon, is a bit more mysterious. Shirōemon appears infrequently in accounts of the episode, yet he is mentioned in more than one reference. He is described in one source as a learned samurai who befriended Daisuke in Osaka and who sympathized with his efforts in Nose.<sup>19</sup> Shirōemon is also identified as a samurai by another that claimed he once served in Inaba province and later took up residence in Osaka. According to other accounts it was Shirōemon's idea for the men to leave Osaka for Nose under the pretense of embarking on a pilgrimage to the Fushimi shrines.<sup>20</sup> Given Shirōemon's education and his apparent ability to persuade authorities to allow the men to leave Osaka, he emerged as the group's intellectual figure.

Daisuke, Fujikura, and Shirōemon failed to achieve any success in their respective careers as herbalist, calligrapher, and scholar, and little hinted that they would lead a political movement. What prompted them to leave Osaka and lead a march from Settsu's countryside to Kyoto remains an enigma. It is possible that the men had joined Ōshio's attack at some point and were frustrated with its relatively quick suppression, yet evidence of their participation is indeterminate, leaving scholars to debate the exact nature of the relationship between the two events.<sup>21</sup> Moreover, primary documentation sheds little light on the activities of the three men in the months between the Osaka riot and the Nose incident. It is likely, especially from the language employed in the Nose banners, that the men drew inspiration from the earlier protest and used knowledge of the affair to attract participants to their own cause.

In the end, all three fulfilled complementary roles during their mission to stir up agitation and lead peasants on a march to deliver a petition to Kyoto's imperial court. Daisuke possessed enough charisma to emerge as the primary leader—he bore the surname of his hometown where the incident began, and he left such an impression in Osaka that his neighbors could detail his conduct to authorities after his death. Fujikura transcribed Daisuke's plans into the *kaijō* and quickly copied it for distribution throughout Nose's vil-

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 401-2.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 402. Both this account and the one preceding it call into question the accuracy of the magistrates' reports. It is, after all, unlikely that the Yamadaya apothecaries would be allowed to remain in business until the Nose movement if their owner and his son were implicated in a series of crimes.

<sup>19</sup> Fukaya Katsumi and Saitō Jun, eds., *Hyakushō ikki jiten* (Tokyo: Minshūsha, 2004), 397-8.

<sup>20</sup> *Ukiyo no arisama* 404.

<sup>21</sup> Material from *Ukiyo no arisama* implicates Daisuke and his martial arts students in the riot, but it also mentions that Daisuke fled from the scene once violent looting began (402-3). *Nose-chō shi* Volume 1 notes that only a copy of Ōshio's summons found in Daisuke's home linked the two episodes (812-3).

lages. Lastly, Shirōemon likely assisted Daisuke with some of the circular's rhetoric and with plotting the march itself.

### *The Onset*

Yamadaya Daisuke and his companions, Satō Shirōemon and Imai Fujikura, approached Nose county's Kinenomiya Village in the early morning of the third day of the seventh month of 1837. They sounded the bell at the village temple and lit small fires around the grounds. Some twenty peasants responded to this call, at which point Daisuke announced to the group his intentions to rally peasants from rural Settsu in order to present their troubles to the imperial court. Fujikura then transcribed his speech into a circular that would be copied and distributed to nearby villages.<sup>22</sup>

The twenty-three men then surrounded the nearby Imanishi Village headman's home and demanded manpower support for their cause. The request was approved, and the headman provided the group with fifteen additional men. Now nearly forty strong, the men repaired for the evening to the neighboring Myokenzan.

Daisuke and his followers returned to Kinenomiya the following morning and on the seventh hour of the day rang the temple bell once again, a call to which nearly fifty additional peasants responded. Daisuke threatened violence if any of them had second thoughts and abandoned his cause, words of intimidation that foreshadowed the group's transition from what was at that point a conventional protest movement into one that was markedly illicit in nature. The men proceeded to prepare multiple banners, which were labeled either "*Tokusei Ōshio mikata*" (Friends of Ōshio's Virtuous Government), or "*Tokusei soshō bito*" (Plaintiffs for Debt Moratorium).<sup>23</sup> These signs were designed to show the villagers that Daisuke and his men intended to plead for relief on their behalf and also tied the movement to other earlier protests by declaring themselves to be friends of Ōshio's.<sup>24</sup> Hoisting the signs, the band marched away to procure provisions and additional forces for their trek into Kyoto.

### *Theft and Murder*

After gaining a hundred more supporters from Imanishi, Daisuke and his followers reached the adjacent village of Inachi where the movement took a sharp turn to illicit violence. There, Daisuke called upon the headman Juemon for cash and rice. When Juemon ignored the group's demands, Daisuke and his followers set fire to his home and forced him to flee from the village.<sup>25</sup> The second village official the group encountered did not get off

<sup>22</sup> *Nose-chō shi*, Volume 1, 807-8.

<sup>23</sup> The term *tokusei* (徳政) literally means "virtuous government," which in practice amounted to debt relief. Daisuke's group likely attached the former meaning to Ōshio's name and the latter to the plaintiffs' complaint.

<sup>24</sup> As mentioned above, there was and still is no consensus that any of the leaders were involved in Ōshio's riot earlier. Although the banner was marked with Ōshio's name and a copy of Ōshio's summons was allegedly found in Daisuke's home, authorities never made the case that Daisuke, Fujikura, or Shirōemon had a direct connection to Ōshio. Thus, it is likely Daisuke deliberately sought to exploit Ōshio's fame to attract support for his own movement.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 809.

so easily. An outcaste headman named Yōsuke bore the brunt of Daisuke's furor. As earlier in the day, when approached for provisions, Yōsuke refused to comply with the demand for assistance, whereupon, Daisuke decapitated him with a single stroke of his sword.

This murder of Yōsuke led one witness to remark that it raised the "spirit of the village up into the heavens" and prompted bystanders who had witnessed the slaughter to join the movement without further persuasion.<sup>26</sup> In nearby regions, news of the slaying even compelled elders to take flight from their residences, a move that did nothing to deter Daisuke and his followers from looting and razing the headmen's homes. It was now clear that those who wished to preserve their lives and property had no choice but to accommodate Daisuke's demands. Saburō Yūemon, the head of the wealthiest saké brewing family in Tarumizu, distributed a large portion of cash and grain to the leaders, and further allotted saké and fermented rice to approximately two hundred people.<sup>27</sup>

However, while this single act of terror reduced local resistance to Daisuke's demands for provisions, it ultimately doomed the protest. Other villages along the Tanba and Tango paths into Kyoto relayed news of the murder and sent copies of the movement's circular to the Osaka magistrates. Villages closer to Yamashirō province also informed Kyoto magistrates about the course of Daisuke's movement. With ample warning of Daisuke's progress from Nose to Kyoto, provincial authorities from both Settsu and Yamashirō as well as forces from regional outposts called *jinya* prepared to suppress the movement.

#### *Retreat and Death*

City magistrate officers began to arrive in Nose on the fourth day of the month. Nose's *daikan*, Nemoto Zenzaemon, left for Ikeda around the same time and proceeded to supply extra manpower to the magistrate's forces that had encamped in Hirano, a village leading into the Meigetsu pass. Local *jinya* followed suit and distributed firearms to the containment forces. By the fifth day, all paths leading from Nose into Kyoto as well as those from Kawabe into Nose had been blocked by government forces.<sup>28</sup>

Daisuke and his followers attempted to cross the Meigetsu pass through Kameoka and into Kyoto on the fifth day, but they soon discovered that authorities had blockaded the paths leading out of the province. The group retreated back to Kinenomiya, later heading west into Kawabe. The band followed the road to the south where a local official yielded to the group's demands for provisions and the men took respite further to the west in a small temple named Manshō-ji. More than three hundred local peasants joined Daisuke, increasing the group's size to well over one thousand. Several hundred supporters, however, fled from Manshō-ji when they heard the gunfire from the south, presumably from government forces assembling to suppress the protest.<sup>29</sup>

Daisuke intended to lead the group back into Nose, but provincial authorities had already barricaded the local roads. Returning to Manshō-ji, Daisuke's men called upon an oil

<sup>26</sup> Aoki Kōji and Hosaka Satoru, eds. *Hennen hyakushō ikki shiryō shūsūei*, Volume 14 (Tokyo: San'ichi Shobō, 1979), 567.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 582.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 576.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 567-8.

merchant by the name of Denzaemon for additional gold and silver. After spending the night in the temple, on the sixth day they headed into Mokki Village. In the village temple Kōfuku-ji, Daisuke, Fujikura and Shirōemon would pass the final hours of their lives.<sup>30</sup>

When they discovered where Daisuke had halted his group, authorities from Sanda (a domain in northwest Settsu) led six hundred men into Mokki Village. Domain leaders from Nose and Kawabe led similar efforts to barricade roads leading into their territories. On the sixth and final day of the event, Bakufu, county, and provincial forces had accumulated sufficient manpower to surround Kōfuku-ji. From the magistrate's office, five hundred men approached the temple from the south, and four hundred more from the *daikan*'s office advanced from the east. Around the second hour of the afternoon, the forces encircled Kōfuku-ji and awaited Daisuke's surrender.<sup>31</sup>

Daisuke had already lost several hundred of his group during the night as the officials granted peasants safe passage back to their homes, but the group still numbered nearly eight-hundred men. Daisuke, Fujikura, and Shirōemon emerged from within Kōfuku-ji and faced the Bakufu and magistrate forces. A brief exchange of gunfire ensued, a bullet piercing Daisuke's throat. Fujikura assisted Daisuke in ritual suicide and then killed himself. Shirōemon withdrew back into the temple and fatally shot himself in the abdomen.<sup>32</sup>

#### *Punishment, Reward, and Burden*

Once the movement was suppressed, punishments extended beyond actual participants in the riot. Daisuke, Fujikura, and Shirōemon's corpses were preserved in salt, wrapped in Echigo cloth, and carted to Osaka where the bodies were paraded along the streets for city dwellers to witness. Ten peasants were arrested after the three bodies were prepared for travel, but the hundreds of other remaining participants were permitted to return to their home villages.<sup>33</sup> Officials proceeded to conduct a detailed investigation into the incident and censured those they believed to have outfitted the group with provisions or participated in the violence and destruction. For example, authorities banished seven Yamada village elders from the Kinai region because of their actions during the incident's onset. Even though the men had refused to join Yamadaya's march toward Kyoto, officials faulted them for the misallocation of funds and provisions during a time of famine. Furthermore, individual peasants like Kamiyama Village's Yoemon and Kashiwara Village's Matabei faced house arrest for demanding food and money from local estates, but they avoided capital punishment given their cooperation with inspectors in the search for additional participants. For Kawabe's Kamisatori village headman, Souemon, the failure to send a missive to officials reporting the death of the outcaste headman in Inachi served as the basis for temporary incarceration and multiple fines.<sup>34</sup>

Generally, most village leaders involved in the movement experienced some form of reprimand. Those who dispatched men in response to Daisuke's demands as well as those

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 568.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 566-7.

<sup>32</sup> *Nose-chō shi*, Volume 1, 810-12.

<sup>33</sup> It is unclear why a select few of the peasants were arrested.

<sup>34</sup> *Hennen* Volume 14 574.

dispatched were the first to be penalized for their connection to the incident. Most of them incurred light fines, but those who were deemed accountable for the circulation of Yamada's *kaijō* received more substantial penalties. Overall, Nose's village headmen shouldered the heaviest financial burden, followed by the elders, and then those sent as laborers.

Of the thirty-three villages directly involved in the incident, only Nose's Katayama villagers escaped any censure; they were instead lauded for their efforts in resisting Daisuke's men. A wealthy peasant named Sadaemon in particular was extolled for denying access to laborers and funds for the crowd. Even as his home was leveled, Sadaemon refused to yield, and he prevented other Katayama peasants from leaving the village to join Daisuke. Sadaemon was later rewarded with seven pieces of silver, permission to possess a sword, and the right to pass his name on to his descendants. Although ten laborers from Katayama did abscond from their village duties to partake in Daisuke's cause, none were implicated in any subsequent inquest.<sup>35</sup>

The magistrates' investigation concluded in the ninth month of 1837, yet northern Settsu villages felt repercussions well into the following year.<sup>36</sup> In Nose's Kurisu Village, local officials were burdened with financial penalties held over from the previous summer. A petitioner named Hachinoshin conveyed to a provincial lord the difficulties he and his villagers experienced in the months following the Nose incident. In a written appeal, Hachinoshin lamented that after ten local officials were taken into custody, the village was unable to maintain a balance in managing public and private matters. He asked to be released from his obligations in managing village records in order to care for his aged mother, and he also solicited assistance in temple preservation. Later in the petition, he accused two provincial representatives of imposing additional penalties on him and other villagers by asking for local administrators to procure gifts of food, candles, paper, and footwear for them.<sup>37</sup>

Neither a spontaneous outburst nor a meticulously planned march, the Nose affair embodied various forms of protest over its six-day span. It originated with legitimate concerns about the socio-economic hardships during the Tenpō famine, gathered momentum through the mobilization of over a thousand embittered peasants, metamorphosed into an illegal protest due to its leaders' rash behavior, and culminated in a violent standoff with provincial authorities. The ringleaders' involvement ended with their own self-destruction, but the movement continued to impact the region and its residents even after the official investigations concluded. Even for villagers who were not fined or censured, the effects continued to be felt until the end of the Tenpō period.

### In the Shadow of Ōshio: Historiography and Methodology

Scholarship has marginalized if not altogether ignored the Nose incident mainly because Ōshio Heihachirō and his much larger Osaka riot overshadowed subsequent events in

<sup>35</sup> *Nose-chō shi*, Volume 1, 820-1.

<sup>36</sup> Aoki Kōji and Hosaka Satoru, ed. *Hennen hyakushō ikki shiryō shūsei*, Volume 15 (Tokyo: San'ichi Shōbo, 1979).

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 10-11.

1837, thereby limiting our sense of the range of protest repertoires. In English material, the effect is clear by the absence of studies related to the Nose movement. In Japanese, the situation is more complex: the episode achieved some prominence in the mid-1970s, but became subsumed within larger thematic studies of late Tokugawa-era mass movements, obscuring its distinctive qualities.

A wealth of English-language scholarship, especially from the late 1970s to early 1990s, is dedicated to Tokugawa peasant uprisings, but one must scour these sources to detect even passing mention of the Nose incident.<sup>38</sup> Even in one of the most substantial studies on Ōshio—Tetsuo Najita’s “Ōshio Heihachirō (1793-1837)” —reference to Daisuke is restricted to Najita’s assertion that Ōshio had a posthumous impact on “leaders of uprisings in Bingo, Echigo, and Settsu.”<sup>39</sup> Other sources have even less to say about the Nose uprising.

Specific accounts of Daisuke’s movement did not appear in Japanese scholarship until the 1970s when research on peasant uprisings became popular, and even then mention of the Nose incident initially was pigeonholed within the rash of disturbances that followed Ōshio’s riot. For example, Okamoto Ryōichi wrote that Daisuke’s movement paled in comparison to that of Ōshio’s since the former was restricted in scope to peasant participants. Okamoto depicted the Nose leaders as “immature” in their hasty planning of the movement, and asserted that their impetus for action was their adulation of Ōshio.<sup>40</sup> Conversely, Hayashida Ryōhei’s 1977 article “Yamadaya Daisuke no Nose ikki” presented the first detailed account of the incident and biographical background for the principal actors. Hayashida refuted the notion that Daisuke acted out of admiration for Ōshio, instead claiming that both men reacted to severe famine conditions in similar fashions.<sup>41</sup> Kawai Kenji’s “Tenpō/Settsu Nose undō no saikentō” surveyed the social and economic stimuli of the movement. In the first study that sought to view the movement solely on its own terms,

<sup>38</sup> Some of the more extensive studies analyze peasant uprisings through a variety of frameworks, e.g.: Stephen Vlastos *Peasant Protests and Uprisings in Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986); Irwin Scheiner “Benevolent Lords and Honorable Peasants: Rebellion and Peasant Consciousness in Tokugawa Japan” in *Japanese Thought in the Tokugawa Period 1600-1868: Methods and Metaphors* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978); William W. Kelly *Deference and Defiance in Nineteenth-Century Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985); Herbert P. Bix *Peasant Protest in Japan, 1590-1884* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986); Anne Walthall *Social Protest and Popular Culture in Eighteenth-Century Japan* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1986) and Walthall *Peasant Uprisings in Japan: A Critical Anthology of Peasant Histories* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991); James W. White *Ikki: Social Conflict and Political Protest in Early Modern Japan* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995); and Herman Ooms *Tokugawa Village Practice: Class, Status, Power, Law* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996). Of these, only Bix’s refers to Yamadaya Daisuke’s uprising (158). Harold Bolitho acknowledges that Ōshio’s “reverberations” were felt around Nose in “The Tenpō Crisis” from *The Cambridge History of Japan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 124.

<sup>39</sup> Tetsuo Najita “Ōshio Heihachirō (1793-1837)” in *Personality in Japanese History*, ed. Albert M. Craig and Donald H. Shively, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), 178. The other substantial English-language study on Ōshio, Ivan Morris’ “Ōshio Heihachirō: Save the People!” from *The Nobility of Failure: Tragic Heroes in the History of Japan* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1975), does not mention the Nose incident.

<sup>40</sup> Okamoto Ryōichi *Ōshio Heihachirō* (Osaka: Sōgensha, 1975), 168-72.

<sup>41</sup> Hayashida Ryōhei “Yamadaya Daisuke no Nose ikki” in *Ōshio kenkyū* 3, 14-5.



Kawai contended that the economic, social, and geographic conditions in Nose during the Tenpō years and not an imported ideology dictated the course of action. He noted its peculiarity amongst other early nineteenth-century protests, stressing that Daisuke targeted the imperial court as the peasants' potential benefactor (he did not argue that the movement intended to reassert the power of the Emperor over the Shogun).<sup>42</sup>

Scholarship on Yamadaya Daisuke all but vanished during the following two decades, only to reemerge in the last fifteen years as part of thematic studies on early modern mass movements. Fukaya Katsumi's 1991 *Kinsei no kokka/shakai to tennō*, for instance, positioned the Nose disturbance within the line of *sonnō* (pro-Imperial) thought.<sup>43</sup> Hosaka Satoru also singled out Daisuke's movement among other cases of Tokugawa protest noting that the weapons and implements employed during the violent portion of the episode departed from the standard weaponry used in nineteenth-century protest.<sup>44</sup>

The number of Japanese case studies from the 1970s hints that the Nose incident deserves more analysis and serious consideration of the possibility that it was more than a pale reflection of Ōshio's riot. That no English study on the Nose movement has materialized attests not to the movement's insignificance but to how Ōshio's riot has cast a long shadow over other protests during the Tenpō years. Granted, historians have few primary sources outside of records transcribed in compendia like the *Hennen hyakushō ikki shūsei*, somewhat unreliable sources like *Ukiyo no arisama*, and local histories from Nose and its surrounding towns. Still, they provide a basis for arguing that Nose was distinct from common typologies of protest, even though it was not entirely disconnected from Ōshio's movement.

### Yamadaya Daisuke's Thought

#### The Kaijō

The *kaijō* is the sole extant document ostensibly written by the movement's leadership, and to understand the distinctive character of this event, we start with a discussion of it.<sup>45</sup> The *kaijō* contains Daisuke's notions on the social and economic conditions of Settsu and also includes an addendum outlining preparations for the march to Kyoto. Its style does not differ from early modern Japanese letters of petition and protest, including the standard redundancies in supplication and honorifics, yet on close examination the circular sheds much light on Daisuke's philosophy and motivation for the movement.<sup>46</sup>

It is with awe and respect that we humbly present this written petition.

Over the past few years, there has been an astronomical increase in the price of grain, a prevalence of epidemics, and innumerable deaths from starvation. Since this

<sup>42</sup> Kawai 22-3.

<sup>43</sup> Fukaya Katsumi, *Kinsei no kokka/shakai to tennō*. (Tokyo Azekura Shobō), 1991, 158-165.

<sup>44</sup> Hosaka Satoru *Hyakushō ikki to gimin no kenkyū*, Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2006, 83-110.

<sup>45</sup> Hayashida questions the text's author and readership based on inconsistencies in language style and his belief that few peasants could read and understand it (20).

<sup>46</sup> Transcribed in *Hennen* Volume 14, 566 and *Ukiyo no arisama* 397-8.

spring, twenty out of every hundred people have resorted to begging only to starve to death. In the course of that period, all of realm's wealth and treasures have also been depleted. These conditions have made it clear that henceforth in approximately ninety days, during the autumn harvest, fifty out of every one hundred people will perish from starvation. Because the fields are not tillable, we implore for you to collect all of the stored rice from each county and each province, and then distribute it accordingly to all people of that land. We plead for an edict to command aid for all people before the autumn harvest.

Due to the steep price of commodities in recent years, those peasants who do not hold land in the villages as well as those from the lower ranks are truly burdened. For example, even if there were a bountiful harvest this fall, there would be no means for them to repay borrowed silver. We beseech you to enact a commandment relieving the indebted from all provinces and releasing them from a cycle of borrowing and lending. If a debt moratorium is not enacted, then decades of hardship shall ensue. Subsequently, even if matters remained unchanged for merely a few years from now, those of lower classes in the peasantry will not be able to sustain themselves. Because the rice fields continue to be infertile, if the Emperor through exceptional virtue were to issue a decree to all of the retainers in the land, and if such a decree were implemented with stern rigor, we would be grateful for it. As such, we respectfully present this petition. That is all.

The Seventh Month

To His Royal Highness the Kanpaku

Announcement<sup>47</sup>

We have presented the above as a petition. One person from each home, especially from the villages [listed here], should gather tonight in Kinenomiya. If we must press on into villages that have delayed [in coming to Kinenomiya], we will go to the village headmen and borrow resources for our journey to the capital. This circular will be sent with haste to individual villages, and it then shall be returned to Kinenomiya. That is all.

Daisuke's first lines establish the tone for the remainder of the document by contextualizing the piece in his contemporary world of suffering, a feature that distinguishes it from earlier memorials associated with Ōshio's disturbance that employed historical references

<sup>47</sup> Here Yamadaya lists the following villages to which he intends to circulate the text: Kunisaki, Yoshikawa, Kurokawa, Todoromi, Higashiyama, Yoshida, Yoshie, Nakagawara, Kibe, Ikeda, Hagiwara, Yazama, Tadain, Hirano, Uneno, Uehara, Yamashita, Sasabe, and Hitokura.

to social disarray.<sup>48</sup> The grim assessment of the country—the natural calamities, steep price of rice, and pervasiveness of human suffering—evoked a level of poignancy through its descriptions of the ways in which the wealthy and powerful had depleted the land’s treasures. The section concludes with an assertion that the immediate anguish may be alleviated if stored grain were distributed to the starving.

The second part of the *kaijō* calls for proactive measures that would counter the hardships afflicting Japan’s peasantry. Daisuke essentially employed a device that had become commonplace in fiscal petitions ever since the end of the thirteenth century: a call for debt relief, as signified by the term *tokusei*.<sup>49</sup> When Daisuke called for *tokusei*, he initially wrote that it would offer release from perpetual monetary obligations and a chance for peasants to direct their efforts toward the forthcoming harvest. Given the current environmental conditions, however, Daisuke expressed doubt that the harvest would be bountiful and appealed to the Confucian notion of *tokusei* in pleading for the Emperor, in all of his benevolence and virtue, to issue a decree to benefit all subjects of the land.<sup>50</sup>

In closing the *kaijō*, Daisuke addressed the piece to his “Royal Highness the Kampaku” (*kanpaku denka*), thereby encompassing the Emperor’s regency. The postscript announces his intention to lead the movement toward Kyoto, a trek that would necessitate securing further provisions and labor from several villages he identified by name. Finally, he sketched an outline of the movement by requesting interested parties to gather in Kinenomiya.

#### *Interpreting the Kaijō on Its Own Terms*

It is tempting to read Daisuke’s manifesto as a demand for a radical realignment of the political order through pro-imperial *sonnō* reform. In Daisuke’s amalgamation of simple Confucian ideals of the late Tokugawa period, his call for *tokusei* reinforces the Confucian value of virtue in governance, and the notion that only the Emperor can rectify social ills reimagines the existing Zhuxi-based Tokugawa hierarchy with the Emperor rather than the warriors occupying the uppermost division. Hayashida supported this interpretation in his analysis of the incident by contending that because peasant uprisings and petitions rarely referred to the imperial court or Kyoto as the focus of their appeals, the circular served as a forerunner to *sonnō* thought in the Meiji period.<sup>51</sup> Even Fukaya’s 1991 study evaluated

<sup>48</sup> Ōshio’s declaration cites examples of decadence and benevolence from both ancient China and Japan. *Hennen* Volume 14, 181-2.

<sup>49</sup> In pre-modern Japan, petitioners invoked *tokusei* when a new Emperor ascended the throne in order both to encourage a Confucian sense of virtuous government, the term’s literal meaning, on the part of the new sovereign and to ask for release from their tax obligations, its figurative meaning. Suzanne Marie Gay *The Money-lenders of Late Medieval Kyoto* (Honolulu: The University of Hawai’i Press, 2001) 128.

During the Kamakura period, samurai called for *tokusei* from the Bakufu rather than the Emperor, and later in the Muromachi and Edo periods, commoners and peasants appealed to the warrior government for *tokusei* not only to petition for tax amnesty but also for general debt moratoria from their regional governors and merchants. Ethan Segal “Money and the State: Medieval Precursors of the Early Modern Economy” in *Economic Thought in Early Modern Japan* (London: Brill, 2010) 32-3.

<sup>50</sup> *Hennen* Volume 14 566.

<sup>51</sup> Hayashida 19-20.

Daisuke's worth within the context of *sonnō* philosophy rather than as part of a mass movement (*minshūundō*).

Other interpretations have argued that Daisuke's movement called to preserve the existing order. Interestingly, Fukaya's early piece "Hyakushō ikki no shisō" supported this second interpretation. He identified a separate strand of late Tokugawa Confucian thought based in peasant consciousness. To Fukaya, early modern peasants had a keen awareness of their social position within the Tokugawa political order. Dissent did not serve as a means to usurp the power of or revolt against the Bakufu; instead, he maintained, the uprisings served as a crucial tool for the peasants to improve their social conditions and economic livelihoods within the system.<sup>52</sup> Kawai subscribed to this line of peasant consciousness in his article on the Nose movement, arguing that the *kaijō* did not "reject the Tokugawa feudal system," but instead appealed for the "expansion of government and state consciousness" regarding the plight of the peasants. In addition, he opposed the *sonnō* interpretation, claiming that the presence of the Emperor's Regents in the circular did not validate any pro-Imperial/anti-Bakufu sentiment.<sup>53</sup>

Each of the above interpretations fails to account completely for the overall thought behind the circular and the movement. To claim that Daisuke was a precursor in *sonnō* thought educes unlikely connections to the Mito School, Hirata Atsutane's line of *koku-gaku*, or separate Kansai-area nativist academies. No reports ever indicated that Daisuke was versed in Aizawa Seishisai's theories of *kokutai* (national polity) or other proto-national sentiment found in late Tokugawa nativist thought. Conversely, Daisuke's actions during the course of the Nose incident did not clearly reflect a desire to preserve the Tokugawa social hierarchy; after all, the *kaijō* assumed that the political players within the multi-tiered Tokugawa order would collectively submit to an imperial ordinance for a realm-wide debt moratorium.

In order to understand the intellectual foundations of the Nose movement, it is crucial to examine the event through both the context of late Tokugawa thought and the context of the movement itself. In the former, Daisuke's circular amalgamates rudimentary principles of Confucianism and peasant consciousness in a broad appeal to his rural audience. In adhering to Confucian benevolence and virtue through *tokusei*, the text pleads simultaneously for principled government and debt relief. In aligning the plight of the poor with the exhaustion of the realm's treasuries, it offers a vague sense of righteousness for peasant agitation. Further, in articulating its demands to the Emperor through the regency, it suggests the possibility that the Tokugawa order may be corrupt but can survive the famine provided the Emperor and not the Bakufu cures society's ills.

#### *Interpreting the Kaijō in Light of the Movement: "Sahō" and "Akutō"*

Regardless of the intellectual sources of Daisuke's thought, a critical element in the movement was its divergence in practice from the intellectual foundations evident in the *kaijō*. Although Ōshio's protest also degenerated into rampant looting and destruction, it is generally believed that a mob mentality wrested control from the intellectual activist. For

<sup>52</sup> Fukaya Katsumi "Hyakushō ikki no shisō," *Shisō* 2:584 (1973): 60-82.

<sup>53</sup> Kawai 34-5.

the Nose movement, though, such a rationalization ignores the fact that Daisuke was responsible for the movement's turn toward lawlessness and the fact that the majority of the participants abandoned the march as soon as they perceived that the authorities had contained it. In order to account for the discrepancy between the non-violent text of the *kaijō* and the bloody events of the movement, one must investigate the manner by which Daisuke manipulated earlier conventions of mass protest and, with assistance from Fujikura and Shirōemon, played upon the emotions of Nose's peasants through an assortment of vague promises of improved economic and social conditions.

Just as Daisuke tied together loose strands of late Tokugawa thought within the *kaijō*, he selectively adhered to features of prior peasant uprisings, urban riots, and village disturbances. Daisuke defined the parameters of his movement in an effort to appeal to as broad an audience as possible, a point that may be clarified by investigating how Daisuke adhered to a number of conventions in late Tokugawa unrest.

These conventions, what Hosaka Satoru labeled *sahō*, included holding village councils, preparing circulars, signboards, flags, banners, weapons, and special clothing. The eighty years spanning 1730 to 1810 represented the heyday for these conventions, for several if not all of the above elements appeared consistently in episodes of dissent during that timeframe. Compliance with and regular use of such conventions enabled protestors to show a distinct inter-village unity to their oppressors.<sup>54</sup> Hosaka contended that by the Tenpō period villagers stopped abiding by the traditional, peaceful conventions in favor of lawless forms of protest including violent action.<sup>55</sup>

Daisuke initially presented his case to Nose's communities by adhering to a number of protest conventions. The written formalities and humble tone of the *kaijō* shared the same lexicon and characteristics with circulars from earlier eighteenth-century peasant protest. Furthermore, like formal letters of discontent, the text outlined socio-economic conditions, pinpointed the place of gathering, and included an overview for the movement.<sup>56</sup> Even the *tokusei* banner carried by Daisuke's group recalled the political slogans earlier in the century. Although Hosaka noted that the rhetoric on the flags shifted from the political to the religious and metaphysical in the 1830s, Daisuke's catchphrases clearly pled for debt relief and identified his cause as part of an ongoing struggle for early modern Japan's social and economic improvement. Finally, the ringleaders gathered and distributed weapons and tools common to peasant uprisings from the previous century.<sup>57</sup>

Nonetheless, the eclectic nature of the incident itself diverged from the structure of previous peasant uprisings. The Nose incident began as a peaceful inter-village march: Daisuke listed his demands in his *kaijō*, circulated the appeal to village leaders, and traveled through the county to garner supporters and provisions. Yet the movement abruptly

<sup>54</sup> Hosaka Satoru *Ikki to shūen* (Tokyo: Aoki Shoten, 2000) 35.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>56</sup> Walthall detailed the rhetorical patterns of eighteenth-century peasant protests, including descriptions of adversity and calls for debt relief, in Walthall 1986, 49-72.

<sup>57</sup> The weapons carried in the Nose incident included bamboo fashioned into spears (竹槍), iron guns (鉄砲) and swords (刀). These constitute three of the five commonly used weapons in peasant uprisings. The two absent from the movement were bows (矢) and regular spears (槍). Hosaka 2006, 110.

shifted to illicit protest, becoming destructive when the group razed southern Nose homes. The episode's lawlessness culminated with the murder in Inachi, driving provincial and Bakufu forces to amass arms to suppress the villagers, just as they had done to Ōshio and his followers five months earlier.

Daisuke's decision to break away from conventional mass protest to commit murder and lead his core companions to their self-destruction defined the movement for early nineteenth-century chroniclers. Officials and investigators labeled the men as *akutō* (a "bad group") that opposed authorities by committing illegal protest.<sup>58</sup> While the movements led by so-called *akutō* contested official policies, they did not call for the overthrow of the Tokugawa political order but sought to level out its social hierarchy.<sup>59</sup>

Despite officials' characterization of Daisuke and his followers as *akutō*, the *kaijō* does not conform to the mold Suda Tsutomu has established for late Tokugawa *akutō*. In particular, the circular did not explicitly demand an egalitarian society or even a shift of Tokugawa Japan's social class structure. In contrast, Daisuke's call for a realm-wide debt moratorium radiating from the Emperor down to the land managers would have retained a hierarchical society, even if it were one that was predicated on realm-wide subservience to Imperial edicts.<sup>60</sup>

This assessment of the intellectual foundation for the movement reveals neither a single train of Confucian thought or peasant consciousness, nor a combination of them that defined the full character of the Nose incident. The *kaijō* indeed contained elements standard to circulars and summons of early modern protest, and it alluded to an assortment of world-views. Yet, the events following the dissemination of the text suggested a selective effort by Daisuke to embrace and reject particular traditions of propriety in late Tokugawa dissent in favor of a violent and destructive outcome. Nor did the circular's call for debt relief or the parameters of the movement itself completely situate Daisuke within the line of late Tokugawa *akutō*. To the end, it was a hodgepodge of old and innovative practices.

### Epilogue: Embellishing the Movement

The Nose episode soon started to play into the public consciousness as seen in one of the more fantastical accounts from the *Hennen hyakushō ikki shiryō shūsei*. Written in 1837 by a provincial official named Kadota Gensuke, this report relayed accounts from Ikeda Village to the *daikan*'s office.<sup>61</sup> At first glance, it appears an unremarkable account of the episode: the document outlined the movement, summarized the *kaijō*, and listed the areas involved in the protest. Upon a closer reading, however, Kadota's text starkly contrasted

<sup>58</sup> Transcripts of investigations compiled in *Hennen* Volume 14 often begin with statements that the incident was led by the *akutō* or 悪党者出来事 (566-70).

<sup>59</sup> Suda Tsutomu *'Akutō' no jūkyūseiki: minshū undō no henshitsu to 'kindai ikōki'* (Tokyo: Aoki Shoten, 2002), 11-24.

<sup>60</sup> Again, this is not to portray Daisuke as a forerunner of *sonnō* thought; the philosophy is more nuanced and extends beyond mere loyalty to the Emperor.

<sup>61</sup> The exact date of the report is not provided, but the text of the letter indicates that the affair had transpired in the previous month.

with other reports in his recasting of villains and heroes and his warnings of future outbreaks.

The tale's primary antagonist was not Daisuke but rather an Osaka *rōnin* named Kazuma, who Kadota claimed was not only one of the affair's central participants but also its principal patron:

...Yamadaya Daisuke garnered fame for his instruction in the martial arts with city officials as his pupils. Also, Imai Fujikura, instructor of reading, joined their party. This group did not have sufficient means to fund their journey, but there was a *rōnin* named Kazuma who took their affairs to heart. The three were at the mercy of their allied *rōnin*...<sup>62</sup>

Kadota reported that Daisuke and Kazuma led the group into Inachi, where they pleaded with the village officials to dispatch manpower for their cause. When the outcaste headman refused to assist, it was Kazuma who slew him, not Daisuke. After the murder, Kadota noted that the men left Inachi and proceeded to other villages listed in the *kaijō* to secure more provisions.

Kadota then shifted focus from the protestors to the suppressors. He detailed the magistrates' initial efforts to repel the marchers by erecting barriers along roads from Nose into Kyoto. When Daisuke and his men entered Kawabe County, Kadota identified Nemoto Zenzaemon, the region's *daikan* as well as his own direct superior, as the individual who spearheaded the efforts to contain the movement.

The final section of Kadota's transcript pitted the two groups against each other at Kōfuku-ji. Having convinced most of the peasant protesters to leave the grounds, the *daikan* and his forces began firing their weapons at the ringleaders. Daisuke and Kazuma reportedly

sheathed their swords...and even though there were no escape routes, with guns they had borrowed from the villages, they slowly approached the magistrate's forces. They reloaded their weapons with ammunition, but were driven back into the temple by the containment forces' fire. However, a bullet had pierced the *rōnin* Kazuma. The men appeared from the temple, and Daisuke again drew his sword. He stepped onto the horse path using his left hand to hold Kazuma by his hair. He cried "Kazuma, Kazuma, Kazuma." Hearing nothing in response, Daisuke took it upon himself to slit Kazuma's throat, at which time he was shot.<sup>63</sup>

The conclusion of the report revealed that the bodies of three men—Yamadaya Daisuke, Kazuma, and an unidentified *rōnin*—were sent to Osaka. Meanwhile, Nemoto Zenzaemon and his subordinates returned to Nose in order to bring to justice various village leaders who had participated in the incident. The final passage rationalized the event by explaining that the peasants in Nose had been inspired by a few men who must have partici-

<sup>62</sup> *Hennen* Volume 14 567.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 568.

pated in Ōshio's riot; therefore, Kadota wrote, the *daikan* will inform Osaka ward officials of other potential outbreaks.<sup>64</sup>

While drawing from reports in Ikeda, Kadota's narration elicited a remarkable level of sympathy for men who the author himself labeled as *akutō*. Its depiction of Kazuma conjures up a tragic figure who supported his friend's cause only to be struck down by the magistrate's forces and then assisted in death by his co-conspirator. At the same time, the letter countered any potential censure by extolling the efforts of Kadota's supervisor.

In aggrandizing the movement's agitators and suppressors, Kadota indicated that Daisuke's episode had begun to seep into the public consciousness as little as a month after the protest had ended. By noting in the letter's conclusion that reverberations from Ōshio's riot were felt in Nose's villages, he underscored for his superiors that dissent could no longer be contained within a specific locale and that news of incidents of unrest were quickly relayed between Settsu's cities and counties. Kadota's characterizations of the movement's leaders and suppressors as well as his warning to higher authorities emphasize the impact of the Nose movement's participants, witnesses, suppressors, and recorders.

### Conclusions: Yamadaya Daisuke's Significance and Impact

The Nose movement presents one of the largest yet least analyzed cases of discontent in early nineteenth-century Japan. It emerged from a combination of economic, social, and political strife common to Tokugawa protest. At the episode's inception, its leaders, in particular Yamadaya Daisuke, adhered to the conventions of mass protest, but during the course of the march, it became clear that the conventions served as a means for Daisuke to manipulate those from whom he sought support.

Daisuke's *kaijō* underlined the eclectic character of the movement. On its own, it amalgamated basic Confucian ideals with standard peasant uprising rhetoric to attract over a thousand villagers. Juxtaposed with the violent nature of the incident and its leadership, the *kaijō* reflected the ambiguous goals and undefined parameters that became manifest in the movement's path. The movement's evolution from peaceful formal written rationalization to violence preceded large-scale Bakumatsu uprisings that also metamorphosed from legal into illegal modes of protest.

The movement continued to affect rural Settsu long after the deaths of its ringleaders. Its immediate impact diverted the gaze of provincial and domain authorities away from violent protest in the cities and back toward illicit acts, or for such acts, in the countryside. Its longer influence followed months of investigations into the movement's participants and culminated in a wide range of sanctions for most of the Nose communities involved in the affair. Villagers had little option but to continue to draft multiple written appeals to alleviate financial hardships stemming from their penalties.

Each component of Yamadaya Daisuke's Nose movement identifies it as a remarkable event drawn in its entirety out of socio-economic strife, eclectic thought, wanton violence, and lastly having a place in public consciousness. These factors establish Daisuke as neither a principled intellectual like Ōshio Heihachirō nor simply the leader of a lawless *akutō*. He

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., 569.



was instead an exceptional figure in late Tokugawa dissent—a man who never achieved prominence in his career as an Osaka herbalist but who did lead two companions north to Nose where he presented himself as a crusader for the poverty-stricken peasants. Daisuke and his movement ultimately merit recognition for the diverse modes through which he appealed to peasants as well as higher authorities, the lawful and coercive means by which he garnered support in the Settsu countryside, and the paths, both intended and unintended, he followed until his death.